

## V I E W

O F T H E

M A N A G E M E N T

Of the late

Scotch Ministry,

With Respect to the

*Protestant Succession, UNION, &c.*

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LONDON

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## *A Brief VIEW of the Late Scots Ministry; and of the REASONS the Scots had to wish for a Deliverance from them, by the UNION.*

**I**N order to give you a better View of our present State, I must beg Leave to put you in mind, that ever since the Union of the Crowns in 1602. we have had a continued Struggle with our Ministry, who were for most part either Tools to yours, or (if not mean enough to stoop so low) entirely at the Devotion of such of our Princes as aim'd at an absolute Authority over us both. 'Tis well enough known, that the Invasion of our Constitution by those Ministers which led the Way for the like Attempts upon yours, laid the Foundation of the Civil War, and of all the mischievous Consequences that attended it, 'till we and you were both swallow'd up by a Standing Army.

'Tis not unknown to you that we made the first Publick Step towards recovering our selves and you both, from the Anarchy which ensued; and tho' we paid dear for it, were also the first who contributed to the Restoration.

'Tis needless to recount how ungratefully we were rewarded, and that we were so much disappointed of our Expectations, in recovering our Liberty under King *Charles II.* that we were more oppress'd than ever.

Being full freighted however with Loyalty, and bearing an inviolable Affection to the Royal Line, we settled the Duke of *York's* Succession, when you were for excluding him. Notwithstanding which, instead of our being more favour'd on that Account, he subverted our Constitution at once, and by Despotical Proclamations, such as none of his Predecessors durst ever issue, he pretended to annul all the Laws that establish'd our Reformation. This, with the heavy Oppression we lay under in other Respects, made us chearfully concur with you in the late happy Revolution; when, having found by Experience, that we could promise our selves no Security in any thing, while we were in a separate State, our Convention did then make the first Motion for an Union of the Nations as well as of the Crowns.

But instead of that, you know what Hardships we suffered in King *William's* Reign by the Influence of our Ministry in the Matter of our *African* Company, *Darien*, *Colony*, &c. which put us upon Endeavours to secure our selves in a separate State, by obtaining Limitations upon the next Successor after the Determination of the Entail, as 'twas settled by our Declaration of Rights at the Revolution.

I must beg Leave to insist a little upon this, because it will set what follows in a clear Light, and help to discover the Temper of the then *Scots* Ministry; as also with what View they since fell in with the Union, and at the same Time will justify the honest Part of our Nation for endeavouring to be delivered from such a Set of Men, which was one of the main Reasons that brought many of them into the Union, tho' hitherto they have been disappointed of their Expectations.

Those of our Parliament-men, and others, who were true Friends to the Pro-

and Liberty, would meet with great Opposition from our Courtiers, they thought it necessary in the first Place to secure themselves against a Popish Successor ; therefore, in the Session of Parliament, after King *William's* Death in 1703. they propos'd a Bill for an Oath to Abjure the Pretender, which carried a first Reading ; but how it came to be quash'd, and not to pass into a Law, the D. of Q——, then Her Majesty's High Commissioner, and his Friends, are suppos'd to be capable of giving the best Account. Besides other Reasons which our honest Patriots had to press that Bill, 'tis too well known to be deny'd, that by the Change then made in the *Scots* Ministry, and other Proceedings, Things look'd with a very bad Aspect for the Revolution Interest in *Scotland* ; insomuch that a Letter was procured from Her Majesty in Favour of the Non-jurant Clergy, which embolden'd them to propose a Toleration in Parliament to be establish'd by a Law, without obliging them to own Her Majesty's Title ; and one of the principal Arguments they insisted upon for obtaining this Liberty was, *That they were her Father's Friends*. At the same Time 'tis observable, that there was no Mention made of the Protestant Succession during that Session of Parliament, in the Speeches of our Ministers, or otherwise ; which added to our Jealousies, that they were not very fond of it. I doubt not but you will be satisfy'd that our Suspicion was not ill founded, when you consider, that before the meeting of the Session in 1703. such a General Indemnity was sent down by our *Scots* Ministry, and countersign'd by the D. of Q——, as many People from *St. Germain's* came over upon it, to the great Terror of all the true Friends of the Revolution Interest ; and 'tis to be observed, that this Indemnity pardon'd all Crimes past to those at *St. Germain's*, without so much as a Condition in it, requiring them to leave the Place if they would reap the Benefit of it. This gave them an Opportunity to promote that Interest, as appear'd soon after by the *Scots* Plot. Nor is it to be deny'd that Captain *Frazer*, and others, who acted the Part of Plotters instead of Discoverers, as was pretended, were furnished with Passes, and protected in going and coming betwixt *Scotland* and *France*, by Means of the D. of Q——, E. of L——n, and others then in Trust with the Affairs of our Nation.

And as a Proof that the Conduct of our Ministry was all of a Piece, when the Earl of *Marchmont*, who was our Lord High Chancellor in King *William's* Time, but laid aside at his Death, had form'd a strong Party in that Parliament for settling the Protestant Succession, on Promise of the D. of Q——'s Concurrence, the D. discovered the Concert which defeated the Design, and the Earl's Draught of an Act which he offered for settling the Succession on Limitations, was scandalously treated and thrown out for want of the Concurrence of our Courtiers.

Yet in this very Parliament our Ministers suffered an Act of Peace and War to pass, by which *no Person being King or Queen of Scotland and England should have Power to engage the Scots in War with any Prince or State, without Consent of our Parliament ; and that no Declaration of War without such Consent should be binding on this Kingdom* ; which, tho' some honest Patriots were drawn in to concur with, out of very good Intentions, yet it will appear by what follows, that the D. of Q—— and his Friends had other Views in suffering it to pass, and therefore that 'tis no uncharitable Conjecture to suppose that some of the then *Scots* Ministry were rather for embroiling the Nations, to serve some Arbitrary Design, than for settling them under one and the same Protestant Allegiance.

taken Notice of as a Thing of the greatest Danger imaginable to your Nation; insomuch that if I be not misinform'd a noted Gentleman of the Long Robe, said in your House of Commons, *That if any Englishman advis'd or consented to that Act, he was guilty of little less than Treason*, and some of your great Lords and Ministers were so apprehensive of this, that they declared in the House of Peers they gave no Advice about it, or Consent to it.

The Designs of our Ministry will appear yet more plain, if we consider that in the same Parliament an Act was pass'd by their Influence, *Allowing the Importation of all Sorts of Wines and other Foreign Liquors*, tho' the Duke of Hamilton, and the Squadron protested against allowing the Importation of French Wines and Brandy, as dishonourable to Her Majesty, inconsistent with the Grand Alliance, and prejudicial to the Honour, Safety, Interest and Trade of the Kingdom; and tho' the Marquis of Tweedale, in Name of the Country Party, offered an Equivalent, if our Courtiers would drop the Bill.

A worthy Member charg'd this home upon our Ministry, in a Speech upon that Occasion, wherein he had those remarkable Expressions. 'To repeal such a Law in Time of War, will sound admirably well in *England and Holland*, since 'tis no less than a direct Breach of our Alliance with those Nations, and exactly calculated to inform the World of the Inclinations of our Ministers. No Man in this House can be ignorant, that this Act will not only open a Trade and Correspondence with *France*, contrary to the Declaration of War, and our standing Laws, but that the Design of those who promote the passing this Act, is to have a Trade directly with *France*, and bribe Men to betray our Liberty. If any Justice were to be found in this Nation, the Advisers of these Things had been long since brought to a Scaffold.

And that our Ministry had as little Inclination at that Time to an Union, as they had to the Protestant Succession, I think will appear plain from this, that in that same Parliament they suffered a Resolve to pass to make void the Commission for treating of an Union with England, and discharging any other Commission for that End without the Consent of our Parliament; but here again 'tis necessary to observe that our honest Members fell in with this Resolve, because they were unwilling to trust a Thing of that Consequence in the Hands of the then Ministry, which our Ministers knew well enough, and therefore must have had some other End in suffering it to pass, as will appear by what follows.

The Protestant Succession met with another very remarkable Defeat in the Parliament of 1704. when the Marquis of Tweedale was Her Majesty's Commissioner, tho' Her Majesty recommended the same in Her Letter thus,

'The main Thing we recommend to you, and which we recommend with all the Earnestness we are capable of, is the settling the Succession in the Protestant Line, as that which is absolutely necessary for your own Peace and Quietness, as well as our Quiet and Security in all our Dominions, for the Reputation of our Affairs abroad, and consequently for strengthening the Protestant Interest every where; this has been our fix'd Judgment ever since we came to the Crown, and tho' hitherto Opportunities have not answered our Intention, Matters are now come to that pass, by the undoubted Evidences of the Designs of our Enemies, that a longer Delay of settling the Succession in the Protestant Line, may have very dangerous Consequences, and a Disappointment of it would make that our Kingdom the Seat of War, and expose it to Devastation and Ruin.

added afterwards. We have empowered our Commissioner to give the Royal Assent to what in Reason can be demanded, and is in our Power to grant, for securing the Sovereignty and Liberties of that our ancient Kingdom.

The Lord Commissioner and the Earl of Seafield, then Lord Chancellor, in their Speeches to the Parliament, recommended the Succession with the same Earnestness; and the Earl of Cromarty, then Secretary of State, to obviate an Aspersion, as if the Queen had a secret Will contrary to Her express Will which she had declar'd in Her Royal Letter, acquainted the Parliament, *That he was certain of the contrary, because Her Majesty commanded him, and Her other Servants, expressly to assure the House, That nothing in Her Service could please Her better than to Believe and Obey Her in what she propos'd in Her Letter, and nothing could displease Her more than to do otherwise.*

I doubt not but you will grant, that it was impossible to make Use of more forcible and pressing Arguments to shew the absolute Necessity of settling the Protestant Succession, than those insisted on by Her Majesty, and that the Danger of doing otherwise could not be better demonstrated than it was by that Letter.

And we must likewise do Justice to your House of Lords, that they declar'd to the World they were of the same Opinion as to the Danger of delaying it, and concurr'd with Her Majesty's Sentiments, *That the settling of the Succession was the readiest Way to an entire Union between the Two Kingdoms for their Mutual Security and Advantage*; as appears by their Lordship's Address of the 29th of March 1704. and Her Majesty's Answer to it before the Meeting of our Parliament, which was in July after,

Yet notwithstanding all this, when the Succession came to be propos'd there, it was shamefully baffled and postpon'd by a Resolve for putting it off 'till the Scots had a previous Treaty with England, in Relation to Commerce and other Concerns. And tho' Her Majesty had press'd her Servants with so much Earnestness to promote the Succession, yet 'tis very well known here, that Two Officers of State, a Commissioner of the Treasury, a great many of the Council and Exchequer, with Colonels, Lieutenant Colonels, Majors, Captains, Farmers, and Collectors of the Revenue, and Pensioners, who scarce had any Bread to eat, but what they received from Her Majesty, in all about 33, not only fell in with the abovementioned Resolve, but solicited others to do the like. 'Tis also to be observ'd, that some of those who appear'd against the Succession had but a very little before got into considerable Posts; and others of 'em had received Pensions by Means of the D. of Q — and could not conceal their Hopes of being further preferr'd and gratify'd for defeating the Succession in the Hands of the Marquess of Tweedale; upon which they assur'd themselves the D. of Q — would be restor'd, as he afterwards was; and this made all those who had any Expectations from him, concur in the Design of baffling the Succession.

Some of their Friends did likewise boast of Assurances from London, that there would be mighty Concessions obtained in Favour of Scotland, in Case the Matter were referr'd to a Treaty; and this gave the finishing Blow at once to the Succession, tho' the Marquis of Tweedale and his Friends reckon'd themselves sure of carrying it, there being 96 whom they thought they might have depended upon 'till the very Day it was put to the Vote, and the Number was much greater before; but many well meaning Gentlemen were deluded by these

to a Treaty.

In Order to satisfy you further, that the D. of *Q* — and his Friends, by whose Means the Succession was baffled, did it not out of Respect to *England*, but from other Views. 'Tis to be observ'd, that in this very Parliament they suffer'd the Act of Security for arming our People to have the Royal Assent, tho' they had Influence enough to hinder it the Year before, when the D. of *Q* — and his Friends suffer'd it to pass the House with a Clause of their own inserting, *That a Communication of Trade should be one of the Terms of their coming into the Succession*; but this Clause was now left out: This, by the Way, is another Proof of the Insincerity of the D. and his Friends in the Matter of the Succession, since they knew *England* would never grant that Clause without an Union; but be that how it will, 'twas in the Power of the said D. and his Friends to have hinder'd that Act, as well as the Settlement of the Succession, had their Affection for *England* been such as they pretended.

You know very well how much your House of Lords resented this Act of Security, that in their Address to Her Majesty upon it in *December* following, they set forth the Dangers which might arise from it to *England*, and advis'd Her Majesty to secure your Frontier Garrisons, to arm and discipline your *Northern* Subjects, and to quarter Regular Troops upon the Borders of *England*, and in the *North of Ireland*: You remember likewise that a Law was made in your succeeding Parliament to hinder the Importation of our Cattle into *England*, and that your Lords resolv'd your Ships should be appointed to hinder our Trading with your Enemies; for which the D. of *Q* — and his Friends had procured an Act contrary to the Mind of the Squadron, as they are now called, in the Parliament of 1703. as I have mentioned already.

This Session being over, the Squadron, who appeared zealously for the Succession, were laid aside, and the D. of *Q* — was again brought into the Administration; which proves that the Hopes of his Party, who, out of Respect to him, oppos'd the Succession, were not ill founded: What follow'd was a Change in the Privy Council, and Matters being thus prepar'd, the next Session of Parliament was held in 1705. by the D. of *Argyle*, but before it met, the Ministers had several Meetings to concert the Measures they were to follow; to which the Marquis of *Annandale*, then Secretary of State, and Mr. *Cockburn* of *Ormiston*, then Lord Justice Clerk, who were zealous for the Succession, were not at first call'd, which being taken Notice of they were call'd at last; and together with Sir *James Stuart*, Her Majesty's Advocate, declared themselves for the Succession, for the same Reasons upon which Her Majesty had so earnestly recommended it the Year before; but the rest of the Ministers were against it, and gave this for their Reason, that they could not promise to get their Friends, meaning the D. of *Q* —'s Party, to come into it, *for they would not make so short a Turn*, having joyn'd in the Resolve last Year to prefer the Treaty to the Succession. But the other Gentlemen insisting on it, it was agreed that the Arguments should be drawn up on both Sides, and given to the Commissioner to be sent to Court, but whether he did so, and what the Return was, his Grace is best able to inform you.

Soon after this a Cabinet Council was call'd of Six of the D. of *Q* —'s Friends, and only the M. of *A.* and the Lord Chief Justice Clerk besides, because the other Officers of State, and the only Members of that Cabinet, who

were for giving the Preference to the Succession. At this Meeting 'twas agreed to send Two Draughts of a Letter, and Instructions conformable to the Two several Opinions, that Her Majesty might sign which she thought best. And when Her Majesty's Letter returned, it included both, but gave the Preference to the Succession. Notwithstanding which, 'twas afterwards thrown out by the Courtiers, as follows.

Soon after the Parliament was opened, the Marquis of *Annandale*, then one of our Secretaries, gave in a Proposal for the Succession; and at the same Time the E. of *Mar.* the other Secretary gave in a Resolve for postponing it, the Tendency of which was to *Consider the Act pass'd in England, prohibiting Scots Cattle, &c.* but they delay'd their open Proceedings against the Succession, till all their Force was assembled, 'till they had certain Advice that the D. of *Q——* was set out from *London*, and that all his Friends were come to *Edinburgh*. Then about the 17th of *July*, they came to this Resolve, That they would not name a Successor, 'till they had a previous Treaty with England, with Relation to Commerce and other Concerns; which was followed by another Resolve, That before they proceeded to name the Successor, they would make such Limitations and Conditions of Government for the Rectification of their Constitution, as might secure the Liberty, Religion and Independency of the Kingdom. This was defeating the Succession with a Witness, yet none of the Courtiers spoke against this Resolve, except the Marquis of *Annandale*, and Mr. *Cockburn*, the Justice Clerk, wherein they were seconded by the Earl of *Marchmont*, who said he look'd upon the first Resolve as an Exclusion; yet, being put to the Vote, it was carried by about 37, of which 30 were the D. of *Q——*'s Friends; but all this was so manag'd by Concert, that to cover the D. of *Q——* it was done before he arrived at *Edinburgh*.

Thus you may see how the Succession was from Time to Time baffled by the D. of *Q——* and his Party, and that at all Times they concurr'd in such other Things as were ill Resented by your Nation; but upon what Views, I must leave to your own Judgment, after having given you this general Caution, that many honest Men, who were not entrusted with the Secrets of the Ministry, but acted as they thought best for the Good of their Country, did joyn in the Resolves for securing our Freedom and Trade, before they came into the Succession, because they thought if the Succession were settled before those Terms were granted, we should still continue under the Influence of such a Ministry as would be Tools to any Body that had a Mind to oppress us, in order to arrive at an Absolute Power.

I now come to the Union, the Management of which was committed to the D. of *Q——* and his Friends; but since it did necessarily engage us in the Protestant Succession, which I have sufficiently prov'd the D. of *Q——* and his Friends did always oppose, since they had almost made themselves unacceptable to the Nation upon many Accounts, and since they had no Reason to expect the Squadron, whom they had so much abus'd, would joyn with them; and that 'tis evident they could never have carried the Union without them, I leave it to your own Judgment, whether 'twas reasonable to think that a Matter of this Consequence could succeed in such Hands. I need not tell you that many People were Enemies to it, on the Account of the Managers, and perhaps if it were enquired into, the Tumults which were rais'd against it, would be found to be tomented by others than those who

all underhand Tricks and Opposition, which left no Place of Retreat to the D— of Q— and his Friends, had they been ever so much inclin'd to it, without exposing themselves openly to the View of the World, as profess'd Enemies both to the Succession and Union. And I cannot omit informing of you of what I have from a very good Hand, that their Enmity to the Succession was so great to the very last, that had the Union been voted out, and the Succession with Limitations carried, as a proper Expedient to lay the Discontents which at that Time rose so high, and to prevent a Rupture betwixt the Nations, 'till the Union had been more fully considered, our Parliament would have been broke up, rather than the Succession agreed to.

I must leave it to your own-Conjecture, whether some of those who defeated the Succession were restrained from doing the like with the Union, by Motives of Fear or Profit, or whether there was a Mixture of both; but 'tis certain the Squadron, who have been so much reproached both before and since, could have no probable Hopes of Reward; for they were not employed in the Treaty, nor trusted with the Management of it in the House, and that they endanger'd both their Safety and their Reputation with their Country, in whose Opinion they stood so fair, by acting as they did for the Union, is not to be deny'd; for as their Enemies were very industrious to give a wrong Turn to what they did in the Matter of the Succession, they had the same hard Fate in their Conduct about the Union; and since every Body must allow them to be Men of more Penetration than not to foresee this, I think I may be allow'd to have so much Charity for them as to suppose they acted as they did, because they found by Experience there was no carrying the Succession with Limitations, to deliver their Country from an oppressive Ministry, and the Danger of a *Popish* Successor, and therefore they resolv'd to unite with *England* on the Terms propos'd, as the only Way left us to come under the same Protestant Successor, and to have a Share in the same Trade and Liberty, for Want of which, by the Union of the Crowns, we were reduc'd to a Condition of Beggary and Slavery, and that of the worst and most contemptible Sort, since we were become Slaves to those who were always Tools to your Ministry, and by Consequence no more than the *Servants of Servants*, which was the Curse inflicted upon *Cham* by his Father *Noah*.

Such of our Nation as had an honest Design in the Union, intended the joint Security, Wealth and Liberty of both Kingdoms upon an equal Footing; but whether some of those in both Parts of the Island who pretended a Zeal to push and carry it on, and to a great Share of the Merit for atchieving it, had not something else in View, and particularly to keep us still under Slavery, with a Design to serve old Arbitrary Principles and Views, may perhaps appear by what we are now to consider.

Nothing is a greater Proof of this than the great Effort made in Parliament to have the Privy-Council still continued among us, which, if I be rightly informed, was as great as any that ever was known to be made by a Court Party, and I can assure you that our late Courtiers endeavoured to render the Squadron odious among us, because of their strenuous Appearance against the Council, which, with the unanswerable Arguments they urg'd in Parliament for abolishing it, is none of the least Causes of all that Malice and Falshood, which has since been vented against them and their Friends, as you may perceive by that

*some Account of the Divisions there.* To say nothing of the Unreasonableness to keep up such a Mark of Distinction with us, after the Sovereignty of the Two Nations was consolidated; 'tis known to every Man that since the Union of the Crowns, our Privy Council has been as Arbitrary as the *Turkish* Divan, that they assum'd a Parliamentary Power, and concurr'd with all Courts in oppressing us. Thus in King *James* and King *Charles* the First's Time, they set up a High Commission, which contrary to standing Law, made Innovations both in Church and State, and brought our Lives, Fortunes and Liberties to a precarious Dependence upon the Court. In *Charles* the Second's Time they brought down Armies of Savage *Highlanders* upon the Country in Time of Peace, garrison'd Gentlemens Houses without their Consent, levy'd Money for their Subsistence contrary to Law, dispens'd with Acts of Parliament, countenanc'd Military Officers to try and execute Men without Jury or Record, disarm'd the Subjects at Pleasure; and in King *James* the Seventh's Time concurr'd in those Proclamations which pretended to annul our Laws. In a Word, they were the Instruments of all those Grievances complain'd of in the Claim of Right, and even since the Revolution, they were so accusom'd to Arbitrary Practices, that they acted many Illegal Things, which it was not in the Power of honest Men among them to prevent, as they themselves have frequently complain'd. So that 'tis evident to a Demonstration, that our late Ministry, who you see plain by the Libel above-mention'd, expected to have had their Power continued over us, were angry at the Abolishing of the Council, because it depriv'd them of a proper Handle by which they might still Tyrannize over us, and influence our Elections, the Return of which they had cunningly got vested in themselves by the Union, had the Parliament of *Great Britain* thought fit to continue the Council. I shall only add, That by the Proceedings of that Party, both before and since, 'tis easie to perceive, that if they acted in such an Arbitrary Manner when we had a Parliament here to call them to an Account, they would have chastis'd us with Scorpions instead of Rods, and have made Use of their Power to make us all Janisaries and Spahis to serve the Designs of any Arbitrary Prince against the whole Island; now that we have no Parliament here, especially if their Power of returning our Members had been continued, for to be sure they would have returned none but such as should either have palliated their illegal Practices or concurr'd with them. But blessed be God the Parliament of *Great Britain* has delivered us from this Yoke, tho' our late Courtiers, and other People with you, would willingly have had it wreath'd harder about our Necks than ever.

The Weakness of their Pretence, that they desir'd the Continuance of the Council for securing our Peace, is easily seen thro'; since every one knows that it might be better secur'd by the same Methods as yours in *England*, if honest Men were made Sheriffs, and put into the Commission of Lieutenancy and Peace; but their Sincerity in this Matter may pretty well be guess'd at, since, by Her Majesty's late Proclamation, with respect to our Country, 'tis evident how barefac'd *Popery* and *Jacobitism* have appear'd, and how much they increas'd under their Administration. Perhaps you would think it an uncharitable Suggestion, if any Body should offer to say that some of our late Ministry design'd it should be so; but this you may depend on as Fact, that in many Places they have recommended Persons to be Justices of Peace, who are very unacceptable to the Country, and that there are not a few Jacobites and Papists among them.

One Instance so notorious, that all the honest Men of the Kingdom are alarm'd at it, viz. Sir Robert Greerfon of Lagg, who was a barbarous Persecutor in the late Reigns, and ordered Two Women to be ty'd to a Stake within the Seemark 'till they were drown'd by the Tide, because they would not hear the Episcopal Ministers: He was also one of those who murder'd People in the Fields, without any Form of Law, was lately cited to *Edinburg* for Clipping and Coining; upon which his Servants that were suspected fled the Country, and is prov'd to be guilty of notorious Adultery, which is Death by our Law; yet this Man is lately made a Justice of Peace, which I can assure you, was not by the Recommendation of the Squadron, for it was not thought fit to oblige them so much as to put their Friends into the Commission. By this you may judge what Regard some of our late Courtiers have to the Country, they knew this Man's Character well enough, and that making him a Justice would occasion Complaints, and raise Jealousies, as it has actually done among all the Ministers and sober People of the *Stuarty* of *Kircubright*, for they can think no Good design'd to them, when such Men are advanc'd to Authority, as have always been their profess'd Enemies.

I come now to the late Invasion, and must desire you to observe the following Circumstances that preceded it, which perhaps may furnish you with some new Thoughts about the Conduct of our late Ministry. The first Thing I would desire you to observe, is their Opposition to the Oath for Abjuring the Pretender, which carried a first Reading in our Parliament, and might easily then have pass'd into a Law, had they thought fit it should. In the Second Place, be pleas'd to remember the Indemnity procur'd by those Gentlemen, upon which so many People came over from *St. Germain's*; and pray don't forget the *Scots* Plot that follow'd it, and who it was that gave such Countenance and Protection to Captain *Frazer* and others who had forfeited their Lives by our Laws, to come and go from *France* at that Juncture of Time. I hope you will also consider the Encouragement given to our Nonjurant Clergy, to petition for a Toleration, without being oblig'd to own Her Majesty's Government. I must desire you in the Third Place, to remember that crafty and unaccountable Opposition made by them in our Parliament to the very last against the Protestant Succession. Fourthly, be pleas'd to consider whether the Endeavours, after the Union was made, to continue a Ministry and Council over us, which were so ungrateful to the Nation, was a proper Method to allay our Discontents, and to lessen the Number of the Pretender's Friends. In the Fifth Place consider how naked we were left as to Forces, and how ill our chief Garrisons were provided, when the Pretender came upon our Coasts; and since 'tis very well known that our Administration had frequently stunn'd us with a Noise of Jacobite Plots and Fears of such an Invasion, to create a Suspicion of such as oppos'd their Measures, you may easily judge whether they could be excusable in not taking more Care to have us provided against a real Invasion when it came; I shall not say any thing to lessen the E. of *Leven's* Conduct and Care to oppose that Descent, but I think it may be justly said without Offence, that all his Lordship was capable to do against it in such Circumstances, would have signify'd little, had not Providence taken more Care of us than our Administrators; for I suppose you are not ignorant, that had there not been a Spirit of Terror and Infatuation among the *French*, or something else, which is not yet known to us, they might easily have landed before your Fleet arrived to give them Chase; and what Confusion, Bloodshed and Danger, that

the happy Disappointment of the Invasion, you know very well that a considerable Number of our Nobility and Gentry were taken up on Suspicion of favouring it; and we have Reason to suppose, that the List of them was given in to your Council by those Gentlemen; so that whatever Partiality or Party Quarrel there might be in it, or whatever Neglect there was, in not taking up others, whom perhaps there was more Reason to suspect, it must be charg'd upon them, since 'tis natural to think that few of your Ministry are sufficiently acquainted with Persons and Characters here; but it was a general Observation with us, that whoever advis'd to those Proceedings, seem'd rather to design a Slur upon such as oppos'd our late Courtiers in their Measures, and to influence our Elections, than really to secure the Kingdom: The taking up the late Lord *Belhaven*, Mr. *Fletcher* and others, who had concurr'd in the Revolution, and were always firm to it, was a plain Proof of this. I must here take Notice of one Thing which rais'd a general Disgust in our Country, and that was the carrying up of all those Prisoners to *London*. Whatever might have been said for it at another Time, it seem'd to be impolitick so soon after the Union, for it call'd to Remembrance what is recorded in our History of your *Edward I.* who, in order to establish his Sovereignty over us, when *John Baliol*, who got our Crown by his Assistance, own'd himself to be his Vassal, he destroyed many of our chief Families, which quite ruined his Design, and engag'd *England* in a long and ruinous War. In short, our People in general thought the carrying up of those Lords and Gentlemen to *London*, look'd too much like making them Trophies of a Conquest and Subjection, and I am very apt to believe, if any honest Men with you went into those Measures, 'twas because they thought there was no Justice to be expected from our Ministry against a Jacobite Plot, considering their Management of that formerly called the *Scots* Plot, and their constant Opposition to the Protestant Succession; and upon this Account, the sending for those of our Nobility and Gentry up, whom our late Ministry are suppos'd to have inform'd yours, were most like to be guilty of Treasonable Practices, deserves to be thought as great an Instance of Prudence and Integrity, as it would have been the contrary, if our late Ministry had been entrusted with taking their Examinations.

But after all, to us it seems unaccountable, that not one *Englishman* was taken up for this Plot and Invasion, except what were taken at Sea. Certainly no Man can think that all the Disloyalty of the Island lies by *North Tweed*, or that the *Pretender* would have attempted to come over without greater Assurance of Support than he could expect from the *Jacobites* with us. One would have thought that our late *Scots* Ministry had not so much Success with their former Plot, as to make them fond of taking up People again for another, without good Evidence against them, or very strong Reasons to suspect them.

'Tis well for you, that your Ministry had so tender a Regard to the Liberties of the Subject as to put none of your People to Disgrace and Expence, upon that Account, since they had no Evidence against them: Nor is the Clemency less remarkable that is used with you towards those that were taken in the *Salisbury* Man of War, especially since one of the Chief of 'em was under a former Condemnation. I am satisfy'd that nothing could have induc'd our late Ministry to treat them so civilly, had they belong'd to their Province, except they could have purchased their Favour by giving or procuring them

Ministry stands in need of no such Measures, and that they abhor raising in with any thing that may so much endanger your Constitution, as the over-turning of the Freedom of Elections must necessarily do.

I doubt not but you take Notice of the Libeller's Clamour against the Squadron, as having from Time to Time joyn'd with *Jacobites*. Now admitting it to be true, 'tis the most disingenious Thing in the World for our late Courtiers to have allow'd their Tool to mention this, since they have been so frequently guilty of it themselves, and that so lately too, as to solicit such who were taken up as Favourers of the Invasion to give them their Proxies.

Certainly they cannot charge the Squadron to have made the D. of *Q—*'s Brother, the late Earl of *March*, who liv'd and dy'd a *Jacobite*, Governour of *Edinburgh-Castle*; and to have turn'd out the E. of *L—n*, who was always taken to be a staunch Revolutioner, to make Way for him. 'Twas not the Squadron who brought the late Lord *Ballendin* into Council, tho' so rank a *Jacobite*, that he shot a poor Sentinel for saying he belong'd to King *William*, and told him that 'twas King *Jame's* Pass: 'Twas not they who likewise brought in the E. of *D—re*, and the E. of *B—s*, who was a known and active *Jacobite*: 'Twas not they who countersign'd the Indemnity formerly mention'd, which brought over so many People from *St. Germans*: 'Twas not under their Administration that *Popery* and *Jacobitism* increas'd so much as to stand in need of Proclamations since, to put a Curb to them; but Malice knows no Bounds, and is incapable of Shame: Otherwise our late Courtiers would never have suffer'd their Libeller to charge their own Crimes upon the Squadron, and particularly to tell us that they offer'd to come in with the *Jacobites* against the Succession, when 'tis known to the whole Country, and appears by the Records of Parliament, that they did all they could to get it establish'd, and that 'twas the D. of *Q—*'s Party who join'd with the *Jacobites* to oppose it.

We may say the like as to the Proxies, since the Libeller owns his Party had obtain'd some from those that were taken up on Account of the Invasion. And I would fain know whether it be most criminal to take the Assistance of such Men, when it can be had, in order to rescue our Country from an oppressive Ministry, or to endeavour to obtain it by Threats and Promises, in order to continue us under Arbitrary Power, and to give any Court an Opportunity to have all our 61 Members return'd as they please.

I come next to our late Elections, concerning which the Libeller charges the Squadron with so many unfair Practices; but how justly will appear when our controverted Elections come to be debated in Parliament. In the mean Time you may be satisfy'd, that none of the Squadron could pretend to the Honour of being then Her Majesty's Servants; and therefore could not threaten any Body for opposing them as such with the Loss of Place, Commission or Pension: Nor had they the Honour to be trusted with the Secret, or Power to give in Lists of such as were thought proper to be taken up on Account of the Invasion or Plot; and therefore could not put Marks of Disgrace upon any of the D. of *Q—*'s Friends, or send them Prisoners to another Country, that they might not be near enough to influence Elections; nor could they take them up at home, and threaten to send them after the rest if they would not give their Proxies or Interest to them. 'Twas not in the Power of the Squadron to give a Commission to any General Officer of the Army to send

for

to stand Candidates against any of their Friends; nor had the Squadron any Blank Commissions to fill up with such as would sell their Votes to be made Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, or other Officers. I never heard that the Squadron was charg'd with splitting Freeholds, and making fraudulent Sales of 'em, with Clauses of Revocation, and that too after the Test of the Writs, in order to purchase Votes: Nor do I know that they e'er teaz'd and affronted Gentlemen Voters, that were known to be firm to the Revolution, by tendering the Oaths to them, in order to make their Loyalty suspected, when they came to vote against any of their Friends. 'Twas some other People than the Squadron who brought Bailiffs, contrary to Law, into the Meetings of the Electors, to take up such as voted against their Friends, on Pretence of Debt. 'Twas not the Squadron who had Blank Warrants to fill up with the Names of such as oppos'd the Election of their Friends, sent them to *Edinburgh* from far distant Places, kept them under Confinement for some Weeks, and at last discharg'd them without asking them one Question. 'Twas not the Squadron who brought People to vote at Elections, that could not tell where their Freeholds lay. 'Twas not they who had arm'd Men lodg'd near Places of Election to over-awe the Electors, nor who took upon them, at their Meetings for electing, to determine such Cases as are determinable only in Parliament. 'Twas not the Squadron who brought in a Sort of Peers of a double Capacity, who shall both have a Right to sit in Person, and to chuse others to sit in the same House with themselves; a Sort of Peerage unknown to our Constitution, and which in Time may prove dangerous to it, since any Court that is so minded may give so many *Englishmen Scotch* Titles of Peerage, as will put it entirely in the Power of the Court, and of the *South Part of Britain*, to chuse all the *Scots* Sixteen. This, by the Way, puts me in Mind of another Thing that may prove fatal to our Constitution, if it be not guarded against; and that is, lest any Court should take an Opportunity to bring such a Number of the present *Scots* Peers into the House, by *English* Titles, as may break the Proportion settled by the Articles betwixt the Number of Parliament Peers in both Parts of the Island, against which I do not find any Provision made by the Treaty, with respect to either of the united Kingdoms. For the Name of *Great Britain* is not like to have Charm enough to make Men forget the particular Interest of that Part of the Island where their Property lies. I shall add, that 'twas not the Squadron who countenanc'd the voting of any Peer in chusing others, who by his Post must be a Judge of Points of Law relating to Elections, which looks too like making a Man both Judge and Party.

In short Sir, you may easily perceive by those Hints what Hardships we lie under, as to the Matter of our Elections, with respect to the Lords, and how dangerous 'tis to let any Court or Faction have an Opportunity of returning our 16 according to their own Humour.

I come now to the Elections of our Commons, as to which there are abundance of Complaints and no doubt you will hear enough of it e're long at the Bar of the House, to convince you that Care must be taken to prevent Bribery, Threats and Promises, and to secure the Elections of our Commoners against the Influence of our Lords and Courtiers. You may perceive by the Union Act, that our Burroughs are divided into 15 Classes or Districts, 9 of which have 5 Electors each, and the other 6 but 4; and in Case of an

plain that when the Number of Electors is so few, it gives an easie Oppor-  
tunity for Bribery; besides the Handle it affords the President of each Meet-  
ing to return himself or his Friend, which I humbly conceive is against the  
Equity of the Law; that does not allow a Sheriff to be a Member, because  
of the Opportunity he has of playing Tricks in the Return.

As to the chusing of our Barons, or Knights of Shires, 'tis not indeed so  
liable to Bribery; yet considering that the Electors are few in Comparison of  
what they are with you, Corruptions of that Nature may be much more easily pra-  
ctic'd here than in *England*: All which together will convince you of the  
Necessity of making some good and effectual Laws, to secure the Freedom of  
our Elections against such Practices as have been too frequent among our late  
Courtiers; otherwise, instead of having either our Liberty or yours secur'd  
by the Union, both of 'em may be endanger'd, and our 61 *Lords and Com-  
mons* may be form'd into a Battalion, at any Time to attack *Magna Charta*,  
and join with Courtiers to make any future Prince as absolute as the *French  
King*. You see what Efforts the D. of Q—— and his Friends have made  
to get the whole into their Power, and by their endeavouring to possess the  
Queen with an Opinion that our antient Constitution was an Encroachment  
on the Prerogative, as appears by the D. of Q——'s Letter to the Queen,  
of *August* 11th, 1703. Printed in the Proceedings of the House of *Lords* about  
the *Scots Plot*. You may be satisfy'd they had no Design to support the  
common Liberty of the Island, by having that Power in their Hands.

By this Time I doubt not you are very well satisfy'd that we had Reason  
to wish for a Deliverance from the Hands of such Men; and that if we be  
still continued under the Influence of their Ministry, or that of Men of the  
same Stamp, we lose the chief Thing we aim'd at by coming into the Uni-  
on; and instead of having more Liberty, are made greater Slaves, in which  
Case your Priviledges cannot be long liv'd. They have peel'd and poll'd us  
'till we have nothing left to be a Bait for their Avarice; so that now they  
must think of preying upon you, if you do not take Care to prevent it.  
The Truth of this would appear very plain if the Parliament of *Great Britain*  
should think fit to appoint a Committee to enquire how the Equivalent has  
been manag'd and shar'd; this is so large an Instance, and falls so naturally  
under the Enquiry of the United Parliament, that one would think there  
needs no more but to name it; and perhaps this might open such a Scene of  
Tyranny and Oppression, and of Tricks put both upon Court and Country, as  
few Ages have heard of the like: Resumptions of Grants is a Thing very  
agreeable to our Constitution, as will appear to any Man that casts an Eye  
upon our Statute Book, and if an Enquiry were appointed how the Lands  
and Rents of the Crown of *Scotland* have been dispos'd of, since that Party  
had the Administration in their Hands, and such Grants revoked as have been  
made to Persons of no Merit, or for no valuable Consideration, it might ease  
the Country of some of their Taxes, and afford the Crown a considerable Support  
out of what is properly its own, but now squander'd away by lavish Grants  
unfairly obtained: And as they made bold with Her Majesty's Revenues, they  
made as ill Use of Her Honours, conferr'd Patents of Peerage, and of being  
Knight Baronets, on Persons who had neither Merit nor Estate to support the  
State. These have suffices been bought and sold in our Parliament while

you, if they be not prevented. I hope the United Parliament will consider there is no Arbitrary Design, which Men prefer'd to Honour and Riches by such undue Methods, are not capable of, and that the vast Expence which such an indigent Nobility and Gentry, and Officers of the Army, that may be returned to serve in Parliament, must be put to by coming from hence annually to *London*, lays them open to Tentations to sell their Votes to any Court or Faction that is able or willing to be at the Charge of the Purchase, and how fatal that may be to *British* Liberties you may easily judge. In short, if the Trade of our Country be not encouraged, and such Designs against it as above-mentioned prevented, it may reduce us to the like desperate Attempt of making an entire Surrender of our Liberties to the Crown, as was done formerly by the *Danes* and *Swedes*, in Hopes that the Court may treat us better than our late Ministry have done.

I shall conclude with this one Reflection, that if the Administration be not put into such Hands as promoted the Union, not out of any selfish Design, but purely to secure the common Liberty of the Island, and into the Hands of those who have now join'd them in that Noble Design, you and we may both have Cause to repent that ever it was made. At the same Time I am heartily glad to hear of a Change of that Sort already begun with you, and hope it will be universal thro' *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, and that we shall not have the hard Fate to be continued under any thing which looks like a separate Administration, that may give any Man the same, or a greater Influence over us than what our late Ministry had, tho' under different Names, for that is as much inconsistent with the Union, and will as effectually disappoint the Expectations we had conceiv'd from it, as to put the Common Administration of the United Island into the Hands of such as either with you or us have discovered their Aversion to a real Union, and taken all possible Methods to make it ineffectual, since they perceive by abolishing the Council of *Scotland*, and taking the Power of the *Scots* Returns out of their Hands, that they cannot now make use of it to carry on their Arbitrary Designs, and to support an Interest in the Court different from, or rather opposite to that of the Country, as they did of the separate Parliament of *Scotland*, so long as they had it in their Management.

I did not think it necessary to insist upon the Vindication of any of the particular Persons whom the Author of the Account of the Elections in *Scotland* has aspers'd in his Libel: For his Malice and Falshood are so obvious, and the Persons he reflects upon are so well known to the best Men of the Island, that instead of impairing the Credit of any Men he attacks, he has lessen'd his own, if ever he had any, expos'd himself to be laugh'd at by every Body here; and has discovered so much of his own Weakness, and that of his Party, as would sooner raise a Man's City than his Resentment.

I shall trouble you no further, than to assure you that I have been so far from taking his slandering Method, that I have advanc'd nothing against his Party, but what either appears upon our Records, or is so well known, that it can't be deny'd.

Nor have I said all that I could, which perhaps his *Patrons* may know, if they will venture to employ him, or any other to contradict what I have wrote here.

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